174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

[30] [531] [17]

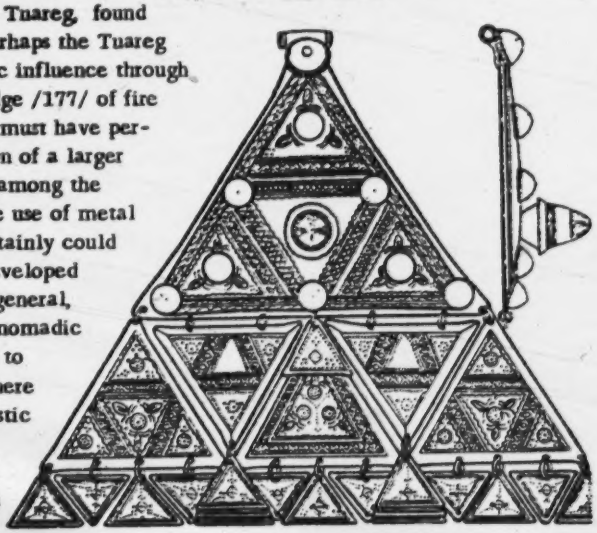

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [727] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok.

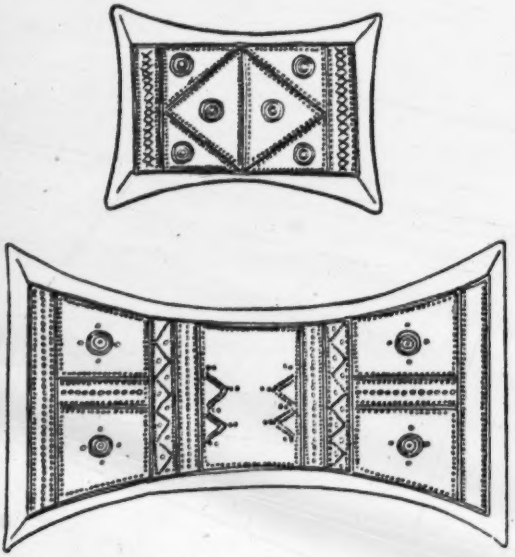

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power.

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan.

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal.

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

[177] 291 174 Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial [181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 832 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

301 [114] This stone ring (ahbeg) has been described by the explorer Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

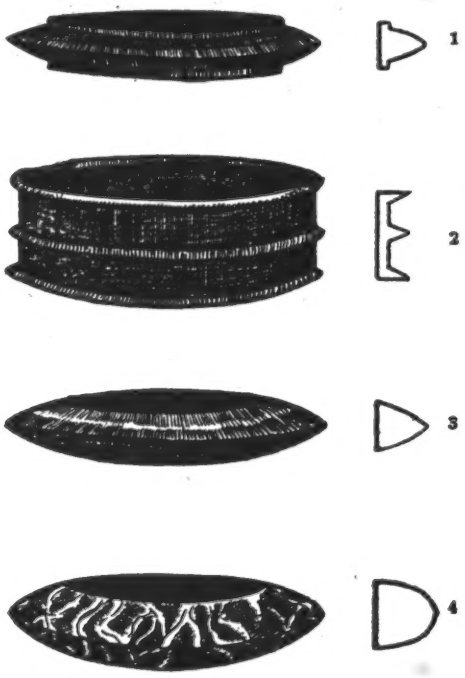

Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation. 172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples, 301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

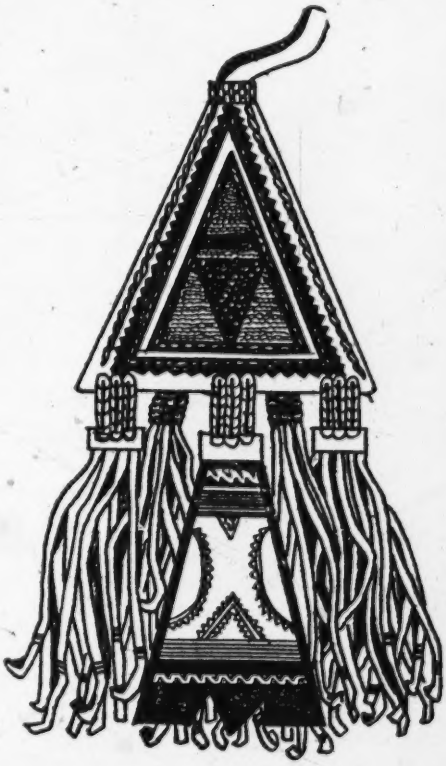

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [203 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

301

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

[531]

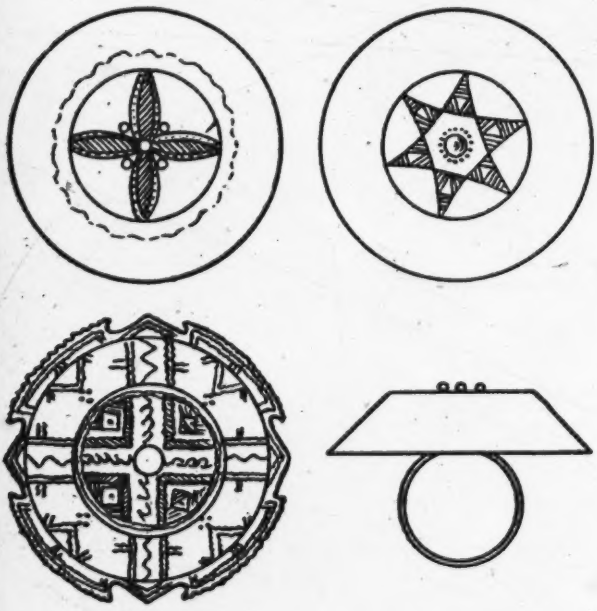

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell [237] or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother [428 556] to daughter.

301 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another [531] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg. Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the [531] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

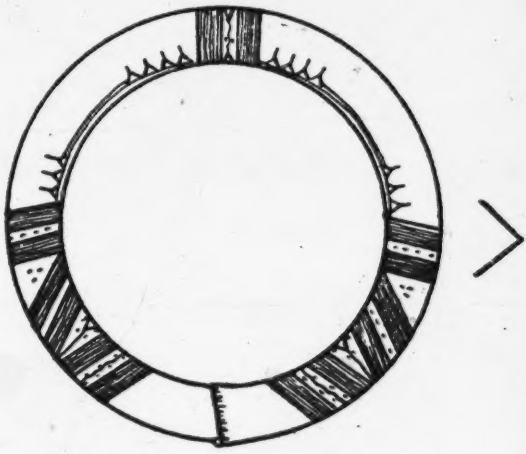

Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

301 412 Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person.

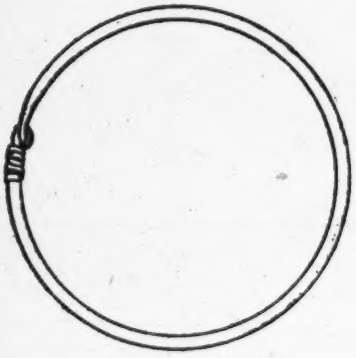

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment.

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the [30] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more [492] commonly used 414 articles -- saddlery articles, cavessons for [412] camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique [531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms; 326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and 411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the [172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 263] Hoggar

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Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with
cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath.
I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all
gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵉⵔⴰⵜⵉⵎⵏ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⴽⴰⴷⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵃⴱⴷⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵃⴱⴷⵊⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it
also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner
prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and
green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of
the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka, " plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela, " plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made
in two halves which are encased one in the other
with copper and which are called "iouakane"

301
Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" [5-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"
Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]
Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291
in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173
is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291
have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173
tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183
insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291
To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183
tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291
not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576
he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

● 301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

412 /182 cont./ For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines;
415 these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Iharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguefi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

492 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called ta'ist, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

• 301 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

List of Agricultural Centers

103 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).

361 This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival
621 in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa.

Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Taïtok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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18. Rhama, woman of the Iklan Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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534

46. The imzad.

[p. 234]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

Iẓeggaren (sing. *Aẓeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

291 301 565 751

Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tokkî* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg.

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Songay-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Songay-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isawegen*. The Songay, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Songay, and Barth describes Agadez as a Songay-speaking city.

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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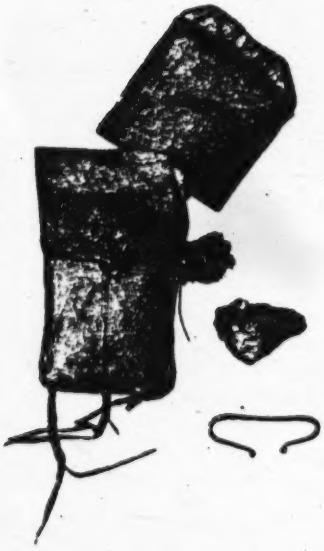

Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarast*), steel (*énefed*), and lighting material (*tajferi*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tarallabt*), is made from wood of *tefderyast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

4/2 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

4/2
172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tadeft n eŋenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

● 301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ohbeg* in Ahaggar, *éweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

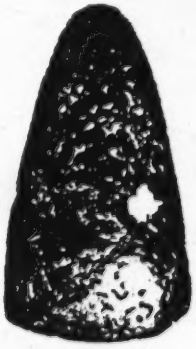

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tafoft n ajenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-takkí* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwas*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

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[53] Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have [114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing [13] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information [437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelhoḍ*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Aḍjuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *oleguigui* (pl. *oleguiguiten*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Aḍjuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

4/3 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for [324] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to [757] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *ẻwekí*) 237 [301] made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Aïr*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the

[text continues on p. 282]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iṛatimen* (sing. *éṛatem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[212] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
ténélét, a ring-formed pendant.
zakkat, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
tadnet (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
térewt (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkoi*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehlé* tribe.

583 The same is perhaps the case with bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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[97 cont.] the Sudan. The only place in Africa south of the Sudan where any orientation toward a display side is sometimes found is Benin. Figure 4 shows a ring made of bronze (Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. 64,768), which is done in a "lost form" and stems from Benin. The display center is clearly indicated by [98] a horizontal double loop and two boat-shaped, very prominent forms set crosswise. Among the Jaunde [Yaunde] in the Cameroons we likewise find rings which have a certain resemblance in their construction to the two arm-circlets of the Wolof. Figure 5 (Museum für Völkerkunde, Inv. No. 88,037) is made of brass, twisted, open, the ends terminating in multi-faceted cubes -- incidentally, resembling the clasp-nail of our foot-ring. If we compare this circlet with an arm-ring of the Wolof (Fig. 1), we find the clearly projecting terminal knob (in this case circularly flattened) and the twisted rod, in this case, however, merely cut out as it were -- determined by the different technique of construction. Complete twisting is possible only if the square glowing metal rod is twisted, but not if the ring is poured into a clay mold. This is shown especially clearly in Figure 3. We therefore see here how extensively the technique of manufacture may alter stylistic expression, and one must first "translate back," if relationships are to be established.

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An earring of the Tuareg from Air (Fig. 13) is almost identical with the Jaunde specimen. The correspondence extends to the details, for example, the terminal knob and its ornamental decoration (central concentric circles flanked by four smaller circles).

The form of the ornamental decoration gives us a few more quite interesting hints. In this connection, it has already been mentioned that an impression made with punches is involved here. If we disregard the difference in technique, however, we find the greatest similarity in the design and composition of the ornaments in the silver work of the Tuareg (2). In a silver

[For Figs. 9-13, See category 116, P. 10 -- Analyst]

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2. All of the reproductions of Tuareg ornaments were made from drawings

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[98 cont.]

by L. Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna. Dr. Zöhrer made them on his expeditions into Tuareg territory. I sincerely thank Dr. Zöhrer here for his permission to use the illustrations.

head-ornament of a Tuareg soldier from Atakar (Fig. 7) we find correspondences extending almost to details with the design of our foot-ring (Fig. 2).* The arrangement of the design on the center rhomboid (raised in both cases) is almost congruent: two small concentric circles in the center, surrounded by a smaller rhomboid, the latter bordered by small, linked, diagonal crosses; emphasis on the four corners of the background, among the Wolof by means of semicircles, among the Tuareg by means of circles. A chest ornament from Air (Fig. 8) is surprisingly similar to the center section of our foot-ring in the way the entire surface is filled out. Moreover, we again find the entire surface bordered by small diagonally-placed crosses. Figure 9, a Tuareg chest ornament of silver from Seken in Ifoghas, shows a characteristic detail of our Wolof ornament: the semicircle filled in with parallel hatching.

On the reverse side of a door latch from Hoggar (Fig. 10) we find very marked agreement with the design on the center section of the Wolof arm-ring in Figure 3: crescents with the convex sides touching, enclosed by hatched triangles along the edge. [99] [Figs. 1-6 appear here.]

[100] Certain similarities with the Wolof arm-ring (Fig. 1), the design of which deviates somewhat from the scheme and yet is in some respects reminiscent of plant motifs -- although purely geometrical -- are found in a chest ornament from Ifoghas (Fig. 11) and a door latch from Ifoghas (Fig. 12).

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The final offshoots of these decorative motifs (concentric circles, hatching, etc.) seem to reach as far as Benin, as is shown by a bronze bracelet (Inv. No. 64,708) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (Fig. 6). Along with certain correspondences in the decorative design, it also has the display

*[For Figs. 1-6, See category 116, p. 8--Analyst]

17: Schweeger-Hefel--10 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 Wolof MS30
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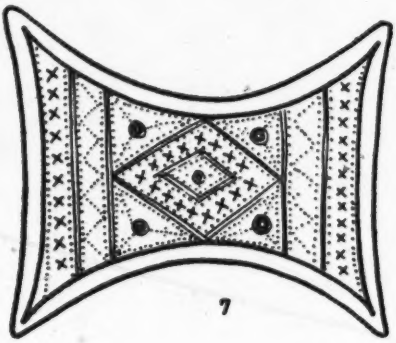

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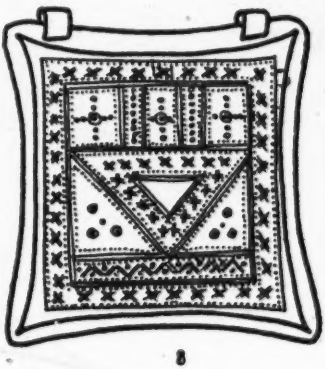

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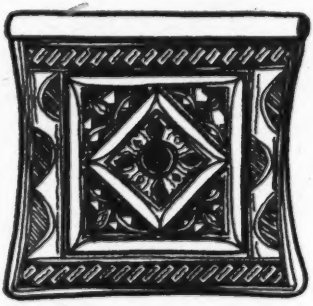

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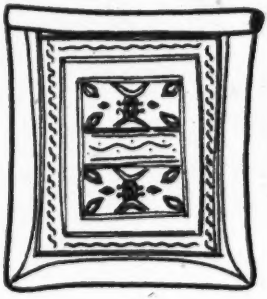

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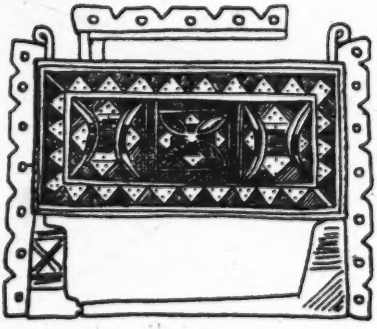

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Fig. 7. Head ornament, silver, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. Post XX/1938, No. 8a, Tuareg.

Fig. 8. Chest ornament, silver, original in the possession of the Tuareg Neni ag Ghali near Agadez; drawing in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 75.

(captions cont.)

17: Schweeger-Hefel--11 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 Wolof MS30
●Tuareg MS25

[Captions cont. for Figs. 7-13 p. 101.]

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Fig. 9. Chest ornament, silver; original in the possession of the Tuareg Baba ag Hamu, Tin-Reiden, Ifoghas; the drawing as for Fig. 8, Post IX/1950, No. 61.

Fig. 10. Door latch (reverse side); original in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 125.

Fig. 11. Chest ornament. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Akauil, Idnan from Tinesraft. Drawing in the Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel.

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Fig. 12. Door latch. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Belcho ag Bibi, Abelessa; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 146.

Fig. 13. Earring. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Tauti, Agadez; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 30.

Figs. 7-13 are drawings from the originals by Ludwig Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna.